2: Wilken--238 E-S (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Mo Batak ODS Malaccas OH1
C Java OE1 Ceram OH9
Bt Malays AN5 Buru OH8
Br Bali OFT Gorontolo O66
G Bu [200 cont.] Makassar O66● Borneo OC1
805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among J he Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration Ml of a betel quid, and the former say sapangtinang, which means [805] about the same thing.

[201] Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I In the first place, we want to examine the principal cus-
842 toms at birth.
562 In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters Mk will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the Bc Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less Bl
● 842
562
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1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see indó.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

Makassar 066
Bali 0F7
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 064
Borneo 0C1

Br
Bt [201 cont.]
M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
562 her breast for punishment.
775 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular because of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bt
Br
I Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed
842 to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try
776 to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, how-
775 ever, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons. She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception. They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person.

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved.

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now.

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2621 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
2731 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
6891 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

2241 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
4111 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
8571 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a [541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

3511 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
3421 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
7641 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
5131 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
6821 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

2871 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
2911 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
4111 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
5651 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
3041 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
8811 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
8421 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut
5741 at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watumpone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower
586 or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Perhaps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here? 611
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families. They said there simply was no control here. The more the better. I talked at length regarding the future decision concerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children, but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very interesting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must always be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come into the front when I am present, a difference from the behavior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant. 000
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watampone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau. The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the marriage is completed.